1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the deceased and their friends who participate in the funeral wear mourning clothes or armbands. The type of clothing worn by the relatives is determined by the nature of their relationship to the deceased. When a parent dies, sons and their wives clothe themselves completely in coarse white sackcloth, belting the garment with a hempen rope. They also wear a white cloth hat banded with hemp. The daughters and grandchildren of the deceased also wear garments of white cloth. The daughters and the female grandchildren wear hoods, and the male grandchilren wear white headbands. More distant relatives and friends who participate in the funeral usually wear an armband made of the same coarse white cloth.

Narrow strings of colored yarn several inches long worn on the mourner's arm band, headband, or hood are an additional way of indicating the mourner's relationship to the deceased. The color of the yarn or combination of colors worn indicates whether the mourner is related through the same patrilineal line, through the matrilateral or affinal side, or whether he is simply a friend. In these days most of the villagers are no longer clear which color indicates which relationship and have to ask the older people who should wear what color. However, frequently at different funerals in the village and area there appears to be no uniformity in the wearing of the colored yarn as a means for identifying the wearers' relationship to the deceased. These strings of yarn are worn by all relatives of the deceased throughout the mourning period.

Funeral Ritual

The funeral usually takes place within one or two days of the death. Most people prefer to complete the funeral as soon as possible to avoid undue expense and to enable things to return to normal, but some wealthy families prolong the funeral ceremony and delay the burial as a means of conspicuous display.

Prior to the arrival of the *tao shih*, a roofed three-walled shelter of bamboo and canvas is constructed to house their paraphernalia and an altar. When they arrive, they hang on its walls paper streamers lettered with moral sayings and a number of scrolls. These scrolls, often numbering thirteen or fifteen, depict the main Taoist and heavenly gods, the twenty-four filial acts (*erh shih sze hsiao*), and scenes of the underworld showing the courts of justice for the dead. The latter depict the punishments and tortures inflicted on the immoral and the various forms of reincarnation possible depending on the kind of life the deceased has lived.

Throughout the funeral ceremony, small children are led from scroll to scroll by their elders, usually their grandparents, while each scroll is explained to them. Great care is taken to explain the nature of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

291 However, when a young woman dresses for town, it would be
369 difficult to distinguish her from her big city sister. Everyone agrees that people are no longer thrifty regarding clothes. Now people "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C).

Dwellings and Community Buildings

346 There is only one real community building in Sanlei village, the temple which is described more fully in
347 Chapter VII. There are two public stores but these can be little distinguished from the main room in a standard dwelling. The barber shop is merely one room in the barber's house.

342 The materials used to construct dwelling units are an indication of historical sequence. The original buildings were constructed of bamboo stakes, pounded in the ground, with mud daubed on both sides, and roofs of thatch. Two one-room rude huts in the village still represent this construction method.

The next development was mud brick, plastered on each side, with a thatch roof. More recent has been the substitution of a tile roof. Over a third of the houses in the village are of this style construction. Since the walls are subject to weathering, the house has an economic life of only thirty years and must be replastered every ten years. Many people say these houses are coolest in

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
594 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

346 353 [532] [776] burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 857 794 The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, 778 [517] they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the 778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess 524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. 794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole 794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in 778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, [517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on [794] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[421] The temple belongs to the entire village; each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

121 life cycle. Religion supports the previously described
771 sworn brothers and god's associations. The village temple and major religious events also support relationships with other communities. Finally, religious beliefs affect many aspects of daily life.

The Main Village Temple

346 The most important building in Sanlei Ts'un is the village temple which is ornate and well-maintained inside and out, the largest, cleanest, and most imposing structure
778 in the village. This building is the social center of the
621 village for in addition to its religious functions, it is a meeting hall, a recreation center, a study center for children, and the focal point for visitors and much community pride is derived from the prestige associated with the temple. The temple is important for the performance of religious rites but not as important as the home, at least on a quantitative basis, although the temple is considered to rank higher in the religious hierarchy than the home as a worship center. Temples are also rated hierarchically and in local opinion, the one in Erhlei is ranked higher than the one in Sanlei while both rank below a major temple
778 in Hsin Tien. The temple is usually a significant part of
[776] the major calendrical religious rites as well as many of the periodic (non-calendrical) community religious events.
[782] On a personal level, many individuals consult the temple gods as needed while other individuals may worship daily,

Earth God Temple

According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth) is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. Inside is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen) which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malevolent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevolence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized much like the traditional government of Imperial China. Although there is great regional variation in details